

113, 101, 221, 619, 184, 565, 701, 721

Bedouin MJ4

[For information on the Bedouin see 1: Coon, MI Middle East, cat.
116, pp. 197-204.]

CHAPTER VI

HUMAN SOCIETY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Writing in the thirteenth century A.D. the Arab geographer Ibn Battuta was greatly impressed by the contrasts in ways of life and social organisation shown by various communities of the Middle East. In particular, he devoted special attention to the differences between nomadic peoples, known collectively by the Arabic term of Badawin (singular: *Bedu*), and settled cultivators, or *Hadhar*. Such contrasts are still as characteristic of the peoples of the Middle East now at the present day as they were in the time of Ibn Battuta, and in examining the problems of human relationships in the region, it is useful at the outset to outline some of the chief features of social organisation. Attention will first be given to two relatively small groups—nomads and townspeople: conditions amongst the *Hadhar*, who form the majority of the population of the Middle East, will be dealt with at more length in succeeding chapters.

The Badawin.—The main feature of this group is of course regular movement in search of pasture for animals. For the greater part, this movement is from one district to another—i.e. true nomadism; but in mountain regions different levels in the same district are occupied successively, and this is termed transhumance.¹ The Badawin of Arabia may be cited as true nomads whilst the Kurds of Anatolia and the western Zagros tend rather to practice transhumance.

With rainfall, and therefore pasture, both scanty in amount and liable to much variation from one year to another, the nomads have found that experience provides the best means of survival. Thus to the oldest members of the group is given the task of making decisions which guide the activities of the entire community—accent is, so to speak, on age, not youth. Frequently too, in the face of sudden crisis—failure of wells, or attack by outsiders—rapid decision is called for, and one man alone rather than a group, is looked to as supreme leader—in warfare particularly more confidence is felt in a single man than in a committee. This type of social organisation, termed patriarchal, places the life of a community under the control of a chosen man, and

¹ True nomadism is in effect, horizontal movement, transhumance is more a change in altitude.

CHAPTER III

MigrationsThe Nomadic Life

The outstanding characteristic of nomadic society is the constant wandering in search of water and pasture for the flocks of animals. The movement is never aimless within the wandering territory of the tribe, the directions of the migration are determined by temperature and rainfall. The pastoralists follow the seasonal growth of grass.

During the winter and early spring months the nomads wander in the more arid zones where limited rainfall enables them to find some grazing areas. With the approach of the hot season the Bedouins leave the parched desert region to move nearer to the cultivated area where temperatures are more tolerable and where they can pitch their tents close to the wells. Until recently it was regarded their traditional right to graze their flocks on the harvested fields.¹⁾ Trekking back and forth is an annual cycle within the area of the gish. The wandering territory is the general wandering habit of the Arab nomad.²⁾ The wandering territory of the tribe is an area, carefully delimited by practice and tradition. However, conditions of extreme famine in the Arabian and Syrian deserts may force the tribe to cross the limits of its

1. Grazing on harvested fields was the custom established by tradition and mentioned by Article 15 of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858. This custom, however, was abolished in mandatory times.
2. Transhumance, or vertical migration, is practiced by the Kurdish and Persian nomads who live in mountainous regions. They occupy successively different levels of altitude in the same district, winter being spent in the valleys where the weather conditions are not as arid as in the hills where the tribes camp during the summer months.

221 wandering area. The radius of migration is determined by:

- a, the strength of the tribe
- b, the supply of water and grazing areas within the tribe.
- c, the amount and type of livestock reared by the group
- d, the relationship of the tribal unit to the soil

Wander tribes are not free to move away oriented areas for fear of being exposed to attacks by more powerful tribes. Their wandering territory is limited and usually in the vicinity of the cultivated land.

221 The true desert Bedouin of Arabia, pre-occupied exclusively
233 with camel-breeding, ¹⁾ is in a position to cover great distances due to the mobility of the camel. He does not enter the economic life of the Bedouin, the radius of migration has to be reduced since the unit has to remain close to watering places.

Further restrictions occur when occasional cultivation forces the camel to stay in the vicinity of the land which he has tilled.

Historical migrations

174 Besides the wanderings of the nomads in annual cycles to satisfy the grazing needs of their herds and flocks, there were ²⁾ in history great eruptions which occurred sporadically and

1. The definition of a true Bedouin is according to Tadmor (Jahrbuch) a nomad who is engaged in camel-breeding exclusively and who traces his descent from certain tribes recognized as true Bedouin (cf. Jahrbuch, 1948, p. 135). The Bedouin looks first on the aboriginal past nomad who is bound to sources of water. The restrictions of migratory radius are according to Bedouin psychology an interference with personal freedom. At present, exclusive camel-breeding is rare except in Arabia.
2. Arnold Toynbee has set up 625 year cycles for the occasional nomadic eruptions. (cf. Toynbee, 1934, pp. 298 seq.)

CHAPTER VII

The Boundary Lines and their Bearing on Beduin Migration

With the conclusion of the First World War and the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire the Syrian Desert was partitioned among four new states: Syria, Iraq, Transjordan and Saudi Arabia.

1) Epstein states that the political boundary lines impose limitations on the Beduin who can no longer freely wander over vast areas. In times of severe drought they cannot migrate with their flocks across the border where rains may have been more abundant. As an example he cites the case of a number of large Transjordanian tribes who were accustomed to have their winter quarters in Wadi Sirhan, which is now part of Saudi Arabia. New political conditions force the Beduin to remain with their herds in the cold plains of Neab and Eilat. Epstein, however, fails to explain why the tribes in question could not avail themselves of the provisions made in the Saudi Arabian (Hajd)-Transjordan agreements of 1925 and 1927 for cross-border migrations of the Beduin. Article 9 of the Treaty of Friendship and Good Neighbourhood concluded in 1927 at Jeddah between Saudi Arabia and Transjordan reads as follows:

"The tribes of the two parties which habitually frequent both sides of the frontier for purposes of grazing or 'umrah' shall be free to move from place to place in

1. Epstein, 1936, p. 229

M
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B
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The two countries, unless either of the two governments should find it necessary to restrict this freedom of movement in the interest of public order and for the reasons of economic necessity." 27

The earlier Hadda agreement of 1925 mentions specifically the Wadi Sirhan. Article 4 of the Hadda Agreement reads

"The government of Hajl undertakes to maintain all established rights, that may be enjoyed in the Wadi Sirhan by tribes not under their jurisdiction, whether such rights appertain to grazing or to habitation or to ownership, or the like. The government of Transjordan undertakes to extend identical treatment to Hajl subjects who may enjoy similar established rights in Transjordan territory."

Cross-border migration of the Bedouin tribes is similarly regulated by bi-lateral treaty arrangements between Saudi Arabia and Iraq, Iraq and Syria, Syria and Turkey and wherever such custom has been established.

B
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In fact, the tribes seem to increase their customary radius of movement whenever necessary. In 1935, for example, a considerable number of the Iraqi Anzari tribe entered Transjordan and even penetrated the Amman region. The Anzari had been at feud with the Transjordanian tribes for centuries, and never before had they been able to cross the frontier unopposed. 30 As recently as 1927 the Anzari raided the Hawatit of Transjordan, whereupon the Hawatit and the Bedouin tribes-raided the Anzari. 31

1. Command Paper 2521
2. Command Paper 2566
3. Report, 1935, p. 307
4. Report, 1927, p. 74

At the beginning of 1939 practically the whole of the powerful 22/ ●
Bala tribe entered Iraqi territory and encamped west of the
Wadi area. The Bala were soon followed by the Ma'a, another
great tribe of the Anash. These unusual movements were caused
by lack of good grazing in Syria.¹⁾

Political boundary lines thus do not appear to have seriously 13/
affected tribal mobility. On the contrary, public security has 22/
enabled tribes to wander beyond their dikh into territories 659
where in the past they would not have dared to camp. The Trans-
jordanian tribes which, according to Epstein, were prevented from
migrating to the Wadi Sirhan may have feared to cross the border
line. It must be understood that states may sign agreements
which the tribes have no intention to observe.

It happened both before and after the establishment of 22/
frontiers that Transjordan nomads were attacked and plundered 72/
in their Wadi Sirhan grazing areas by hostile tribes of Najaz.
Due to the frequency of such occurrences the tribes customarily
moving for the winter to the Wadi Sirhan were not forced by the
authorities to disarm because their lives and possessions could
not be protected by British and local forces while away from
Transjordan territory.²⁾

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1. Report, 1929a, pp. 35-36
 2. Report, 1930, p. 135

648 Political authorities have made no serious efforts to inter-
 221 fere with tribal migrations which follow the law of economic need.
 The governments stopped raiding, but not grazing.

With the establishment of public security, tribal movements
 have been facilitated where fears of attack may have prevented
 them before.
 1)

Stoppage of raiding, murder and extortion as affecting Bedouin

Summary

721 Raids fulfilled a definite economic function in Bedouin
 434 society. Especially in times of drought, the booty taken in raids
 constituted, according to the Bedouin way of thinking a welcome
 means of income. In reality, however, the desert people did not
 suffer a great economic loss from the stoppage of raiding. In
 speaking of raiding Major Glubb correctly states that "some became
 rich, some were ruined; there is a net loss on the whole."²⁾

More significant was the economic loss incurred to the Bedouin
 when invasion of khayma was outlawed.

434 The economic situation of the Bedouin on the whole was not
 131 seriously affected by the establishment of political boundary lines
 and enforcement of public security. Economic adjustments were made
 within the pastoral economy where the decline of the demand for the
 camel made this necessary.

1. However, in spite of the vigorous actions of the Saudi regime
 raiding in the Arabian Desert has not yet been completely
 stopped.

2. Glubb, 1935, p. 22

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In our days sedentarization is the product of the nomad's ^{166x}
contact with settled society during the regular periods of his ¹⁷⁷
encampment on the outskirts of the cultivated land.

At present, the tribal population of Syria, Iraq, Palestine ^{166x}
(Transjordan) and Transjordan (Jordan) is in all stages of transition ¹⁷⁸
to a sedentary existence. A. S. Kirkbridge has outlined ¹⁾
the various stages that the Transjordan nomad passes on his journey
to the settled life of an agriculturist. With insignificant
changes the description of the steps can be applicable to
the process of sedentarization as a whole.

Stages of Sedentarization

1. The true desert Beduin, raising mainly camels, ²⁾ lives ^{166x}
in a world where nature makes cultivation impossible, ²²¹
He migrates in accordance with the existence of water ⁴³⁴
and grazing and supplements his meager income by raiding ³⁶¹
if conditions permit. He despises the villagers.
2. In spite of the contempt that the Beduin have for the ⁶⁰⁹
settled peasants they come to realize that the fellah ⁴³⁴
lives a more comfortable life and enjoys a better diet,
compared to the standards of the nomad.
3. The next step is the occupation of cultivable land by ^{166x}
the nomadic tribe. Agriculture is practiced only as a ³⁶¹
²⁴¹

¹ Kirkbridge, 1915, March-April
²⁾ Kirkbridge does not discuss the Beduin that come from Arabia
subsisting exclusively on camel-breeding. Since practically
all Transjordanian nomads have crossed the first stage, the
conversion of exclusive camel economy to mixed pastoral
economy of sheep and camel-breeding.

XXV

Honour among Thieves

AT DEYR-EZ-ZOR I was eventually able to arrange for the transfer of the young stallion to Egypt by way of Aleppo and Beyruth. It was a tremendous journey, as it had to be done on its own feet; but by slow stages the Arab, who accompanied the horse, succeeded in delivering him in good condition to my friends in Egypt.

000

Meanwhile Ali and I roamed further afield and rode to the pasture-grounds of the Fid'an, then camped at the northern foot of the Bishri Mountains, west of the Euphrates. There, also, the tent of Mijhem ibn Meheyd was pitched, and he received us hospitably. We spent several pleasant days with him.

He then led his tribe southwards into the Wudian area, east of the Hamad. We accompanied them through the Jabal Bishri and camped with them south of these hills. There I decided to say farewell to Ibn Meheyd, and bade Ali buy three especially strong *dbalals* (racing-camels) and two mares. With Ali alone, and these animals, I struck through the Hamad desert, to make my way to the Ruala and to Damascus. On the first day we fell in with a small caravan of four men with twenty-odd camels and six stallions.

[221]

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[412]

From this combination alone (for Bedouins never ride stallions on a raid) it was clear they were peaceful travellers. In fact, they were *Abbeyl* or camel-traders from Inner Arabia, who had purchased camels and young

[721]

CHAPTER III

Nomad Life

In the two preceding chapters I have endeavoured to give a homely 221 picture of family life in the desert. Let me now take my reader over to the more general life of the tent-dwellers of the great Arabian peninsula, and see how they manage their daily affairs and the annual migrations, how they maintain their flocks and camels in a manner little changed since the days of Abraham.

Except for the precarious existence which he leads, and the fact that he never knows what the morrow will bring for him in the way of hunger or raid, the true Badawin follows unconsciously a regular programme and routine; his annual moves in autumn, winter and spring, with his final camping on water when summer once more sets in, are part and parcel of his ordered life.

The great difference (and I am sure it is a difference to his advantage) 000 between the Desert Man of Arabia and his Western brother, is that life for the former is so uncertain from day to day, and so beset with ever-present danger, that he must perforce live in the present. This turns his thoughts to his Maker, and leads him to put his trust in the one God who alone can protect him from enemy, hunger, sickness and death, who can order the seasons, who can grant him water and rain. Hence his deep religious feeling and firm conviction that everything comes from God, whether good fortune or ill, and so must be accepted without surprise or complaint.

To us Westerners who normally live our daily life in order and security undreamed of in the desert, it is not easy to appreciate his conception of life and the Deity. We are so preoccupied with business and pleasure that we don't even think of death, except as a far-off and unpleasant thing. Many of us think of God, too, as a far-away sort of Deity, ordering the things of heaven and the future, but not the life of every day.

The lesson, of course, is that an existence such as the Badawin

The Tribal Country

Chap. III

000 of Arabia lead makes for religion, and insuls into the heart of man
the greater virtues that make life worth living.

THE TRIBAL DÍRAN

- 619 Every Badawin tribe in Arabia has its *díran* or tribal country,
● [22] through which it roams with its camels in the autumn, winter and
312 spring, and in which lie its permanent wells, the jealously treasured
361 possessions of various sections of the tribe, on which these sections
camp in summer.*

Let us take, for example, the great Mutair tribe (‘Ilwa and Wasil)
of North-East Arabia. Its *díran* is roughly enclosed by the following
boundaries:

On the north—By the Iraq Neutral Zone (Tawál al Dhafir) and the Kuwait
frontier as far east as the Shaqq.

On the east—By the Shaqq depression and a line running south of same
to Jariya al Sifá, Taráibi and al Khafaisat.

On the south—A rough line from the town of ‘Anaiza, Zúfi, Majma’a to
al Khafaisat including the town of Artawiyah.

On the west—A rough line from the Tawál al Dhafir (Iraq Neutral Zone)
through Thamani (south end of Batin) to Buraida and ‘Anaiza.

Its chief group of wells which need be mentioned are:

- (a) Hafar al Batin, the property of ibn Ashwan (Braith group of the
Wasil Mutair).
- (b) Sáfá, the property of ibn Lami (Jiblan).
- (c) Jariya Ilya, the property of Al Shuqair (Dushan).
- (d) Jariya Sifá, the property of Al Fugum (Al Sahabba).
- (e) Hábbá, the property of Al Májid (Dushan).
- (f) Qara’a, the property of Al Shuqair (Dushan).
- (g) Wabra, the property of the Dushan.
- (h) Qaiyah, the property of Al Faial (Dushan).
- (i) Dijani, the property of Al Bara’ana (Muaha).

[622] The Dushan being the ruling clan, with its Shaikh Al Duwiah,
361 controls also the tribal capital, or head village of Artawiyah.

619 This latter is an ‘Ikhwán centre, and the creation of the present
Ruler of Sa’udi Arabia, who for political reasons placed in each tribal

* A reference to the tribal map at the end of this book will be found convenient.

The Mutair Country

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619 *dira* a small township as a sign that the whole tribe had embraced
341 Wahhabi-ism, and abandoned its old ignorant and roaming existence.

193 The terrain included in the Mutair tribal *dira* consists of part of the
312 sandy *Dahna* region in the south, the rocky and broken *Sammah*
295 and *Wajima* regions in the centre, and the steppe-like tablelands of the
Majda—*Qara'a*— and *Musawwar* regions in the north.

The whole *dira* is a choice and good one, and 'arfa, nazi and
Aamk, the mainstay of camels and most perfect of all grazing for
these animals, are to be found in plenty when the rainfall is good.

This Mutair *dira* is approximately 120 miles broad by 180 miles
long, and may be taken as a typical example of an average tribe's
homeland. There are, of course, other tribes who own larger and more
extensive areas, but then scarcity of water and poorer grazing has
compelled them from earliest times to seize and hold these bigger
blocks of land. For in actual fact a tribe does not want a larger tract
than is sufficient for its needs. So if a tribe's country is rich in water
and all forms of grazing, all it requires is an area as big as that of the
Mutair.

361 The tribes surrounding the Mutair, who own *diras* similar to theirs,
619 are as follows:

The 'Awazim and 'Ajman on the east and south-east.

The Sbei and Sahul on the south.

The Harb, Shammar and Dhafir on the west, and Kuwait territory
on the north, which in olden times, and before boundaries of western
conception were introduced, all belonged to the Mutair, except for the
narrow coastal strip which was included in the 'Awazim *dira*.*

619 A tribe does not, of course, remain always isolated in its own *dira*.
221 If rains are good and grazing is plentiful, it naturally stops at home,
but if rains fail it must migrate to places where grazing exists, and so
overflows into the territories of its neighbours. It cannot, of course,

* It should be realised that there are two other great groups of the Mutair tribe,
stretching from the Qasim in the centre of Arabia to near Madina in the Hijaz.
They are known as the Bani 'Abdillah Mutair, and Mayman, and in numbers and
strength are perhaps superior to their cousins the Tiwa and Banih described above.
The whole tribe, of course, is one, and though the Bani 'Abdilla have their own
powerful Shaikh, they will all follow the standard of Al Durwish the hereditary
Shaikh who resides at Arturwiyah.†

† For the names of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Shammar Shaikhs see Appendix II. A
map of the Mutair Tribal *dira* will be found at the end of the book.

Tribal Alliances

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619 wander into the lands of a hostile tribe, so it has to keep up alliances
 721 with tribes who are on good terms and will allow it to graze over their
 lands when forced to do so. Hence it follows that groups or confeder-
 ations of tribes are formed, friendly to each other and hostile to other
 similar groups. These groups, with their corresponding alliances, are
 often of century-old standing and serve a most useful purpose. They
 have, moreover, stood the test of war, drought and trouble. Examples
 of such groups are given below, and all Arabia may be said to be
 parcelled up into similar protective alliances.

- (a) Harb—Mutair (Iwa)—'Ajman tribes.
- (b) Bani 'Abdilla (Mutair)—'Udaia.
- (c) Dhaif—Shammir and 'Awazin.
- (d) 'Ajman—Murra—Najran tribes (a blood federation).*
- (e) The various 'Anizah groups of the north, such as Dahamha,
 Fida'an Amarat, Ruwala, Sha'a and Zana Muslim.

619 When the Central Government is strong, like the present Sa'udi
 regime, then tribes are made to keep the peace and behave themselves,

701 * The 'Ajman claim to be able to turn out over 10,000 fighting men is obviously
 exaggerated. Their full fighting strength is probably about 8,000. They once claimed
 to be able to muster 3,000 mounted men, but that is not so to-day.

726 The 'Ajman have several *sabhas* or war cries, of which the three commonest are—
 "Garda al haidid wa ana bin al 'Ajman", "Sidi al must wa ana lahlah" and "Sidi
 al must wa ana lahlah"—meaning "Corner of iron, and I am the son of the 'Ajman",
 "Death cleared all and I still survive" and "Death is whistling and I am still surviving".

The 'Ajman tribe when about to join battle have a custom of tying up their side locks
 (*garns*) over their heads in a tall knot, which they bind round with a red cloth. They
 call the head-effect thus caused "Al Gamas".

619 The 'Ajman, whom some authorities would connect, and I think rightly, with the
 [178] Qatman, state that they are descended from the Sharafa of Najran, and claim with the
 Murra to have one ancestor, Yam. They certainly look upon the Murra as their blood
 brothers and each will help the other always. Should either the Murra or 'Ajman desire
 the help of the other against a common enemy, it is customary to send a messenger to
 the other tribe on a camel with a red scarf or *maris* rope hoisted round its neck. The
 messenger cries aloud to those he wants to rouse the words '*Aydi Marqah*', the sacred
 call of the descendants of Yam, and all know what the signal means—even if 'Ajman
 and Murra were themselves fighting against each other, a not uncommon occurrence,
 they would at once fraternise and combine against the common foe.—(Authority
 Sheikh Fahad al Fahad al Hishain 30.6.38). Their tribal strength and undoubted war
 prowess makes their alliance valuable and their enmity a serious danger; but in politics
 they are a shifting and inconsistent factor, being as they themselves have been known
 openly to profess, "the friends of those who treat them best".

175 During the Ottoman occupation of Hassa and Qatif, the 'Ajman were constantly
 recalcitrant, in spite of subsidies doled out to their shaykhs, and they inflicted several
 serious defeats on the army of occupation.

Horror of Summer

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THE ANNUAL MOVES

872 During the summer months, i.e. June, July, August, September
 861 and half October, the Badawin world of North-East Arabia concen-
 289 trates on its wells (*gullās*), which in each case are groups of wells
 182 lying close together and in number anything from five to fifty. Here
 221 they camp (*igayusha*), their tents close together, their herds of camels
 and sheep grazing in close proximity, for the animals now have to
 be watered daily. Here the weary and long agony of summer has
 to be endured. Man and woman, child as well as horse, sheep and
 camel go through a period of real hardship and suffering. The heat is
 intense (the tent temperature often reaches 125° F.), supplies are
 scarce, *muashila* is a torture, and last but not least the Badawin and
 his stock are vulnerable to any raiding party that may be paying off
 old scores; or thinks to add to its stock of camels. For in summer
 the whole Badawin world knows where each Shaikh So-and-So
 is camped.

Even in peace-time there is therefore always some anxiety, but if
 hostilities should exist between two tribes or groups of tribes, and
 the Central Government is busy elsewhere, then over a wide area no
 man's life or cattle are safe; and in addition to having to endure the
 intense heat and privation of the Arabian summer, strong patrols
 have continually to move about and guard the camel-herds and bring
 735 them in at night. Nor is this all, for if peace reigns, summer is the
 651 time when the *qatir* tax has to be paid to the Central Government or
 Ruler of the State. So on top of all his troubles, and just when he is
 most hard up, the Badawin may any day expect his lord and master's
 tax-gatherers suddenly to appear with a *sarḥa* (armed party). Woe
 betide him who tries to evade this tax! There is no escape, for like
 the enemy, the tax-gatherer knows where each Badawin shaikh has
 camped for the summer.

The enemy when anarchy exists, the Government official when
 peace reigns, have each got the wretched Badawin secure in summer.
 Both are hated; both, he believes, are out to hurt him, and both are
 the foe of him and of his kind.

221 At long last October, or the *wasim* season (the rains) arrives and
 132 small clouds begin to gather in the far west and south, and once more

Joy of Cold Weather

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there is a stir in the Badawin world. Suhail (Canopus) has also been^{*} 221
seen, low down in the southern horizon, which to the Badawin means 172
the end of the dread summer, for man and beast then need less to
drink. Even the blood grows cooler of a sudden.

A general cheerfulness now takes hold of the Badawin tent-dweller. He has safely weathered one more dread summer, the life-giving rains are coming and with them abundance once again. He joyfully packs up his belongings and by the 15th of October is ready to move. The end of the month sees him gone, rain ~~on~~ no rain. At first he does not go too far from water, for his camels, ~~sheep~~ and mares must still be watered frequently.

With the first fall of rain, however, he is gone on his great annual migration, or, to be more accurate, his grand circular tour. The various sections of the tribe now move together or follow each other from grazing ground to grazing ground, till they have systematically passed over and eaten down all the 'arfa, nassi and *hamdi* grasses that the rains have brought in their train. Should rains be delayed in a particular area, the tribe skip it and pass on to where the country has become green. The night lightning and the heavy bank of clouds seen of an evening far away on the horizon are their surest guides.

Certain areas are known to be nearly always good in autumn, and to these the shaikhs will usually take their own best camels with them.

This moving in the wake of the grazing is spread over November, December, January, February, March and April, till by May all nomad households are once more beginning to converge slowly on to water. It is a sad period, this having to go, so to speak, "home again" after the glorious annual holiday. During the migration months the tribal tents change ground about every ten days, both for sanitary reasons and because the grass has been eaten up—so the moves are slow, leisurely and pleasant. Nor are distances to the next camp great. It is 517
a period of joy for all, women renew their winter garments, make 224
liles, wear their best frocks and amuse themselves among the flowers. 262
The better-off men hawk the lesser bustard (*hubara*), hunt gazelle

* In Najd Canopus is usually seen between 1st September and 10th September. In Kuwait if the sky is clear it is seen any time after the 15th September, and at about 3.30 a.m., very low down in the south over the Baniat Gate.

Changing Camp

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- 342 it is, sand may be used for the necessary ablutions in place of water.
515 So the cleaner and more handy the sandy bed of the mullah, the happier
521 are the occupants of the tent.

The phrase "proximity of water" is used in a relative sense only. In summer it must, of course, be close, within at most half a mile, but preferably much closer. In winter, however, when camels are not watered at all, and sheep and mares drink only once in four days, camps may be pitched twenty or thirty miles from any well. The household water is brought out on camel-back and in large and small skins, whilst sheep are sent off to drink at the wells, or in exceptional circumstances have water brought to them on camels.

CHANGING THE CAMPING GROUND

- 545 For sanitary reasons the camping ground is changed every eight or
233 ten days, but especially to provide new grazing for the camels and sheep. An ordinary change of ground usually involves a march of ten or twelve miles, always provided water is handy. This is not in any sense a "migration", which will be described in a later chapter.

- 1472 When it is time to move, tents are struck, and tents and other heavy material are loaded on to the male camels (*jama*), which are stronger and more suited for the work than the females: lighter gear, spare water, etc., are placed on selected females, and of course the family
[291] themselves mount on riding camels, the women moving off sheltered in their *maksars* or *givas*, the tops of which are canopied over with bright coloured woollen or cotton material, as a protection both from the eyes of men and from the sun. The men go before on their *dhalils*. If an individual householder with half a dozen tents is changing ground, he himself heads the procession, while his sheep and milch camels either follow, grazing as they go on a flank or in the rear, or have already been sent on ahead. When nearing the new ground, the head of the house rides ahead, selects the site for the tents, makes his camel kneel *sawakh al dhalil* and declares this to be the new camping ground.

- 701 If a whole tribe is changing ground the fighting men move out first
221 under their leader, all of them riding *dhalils* and with mares and horses attached to their saddles by long leading ropes. Scouts (*shar*) have

Camp Formations

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already gone ahead to spy out the land, the grazing and the water. 701
Assuming that there is no enemy near or danger imminent, the baggage- 221
camels and women folk follow fairly close on their heels. After the
women and camp gear, the herds of camels and sheep follow on a broad
front, slowly grazing along till they reach their new camp. There they
find everything ready and the tents pitched. A strong guard is, of course,
left with the herds. As in the case of the individual tent owner, the
sheikh decides on where the camp is to be, and on the spot where he
kneels his camel and pili-saddles, his own tent will be pitched.

A tribe in camp is not concentrated up but scatters out over a wide 3,1
space, each group of family tents being about two hundred yards from
its neighbour if the ground is broken, and possibly four hundred yards
apart in flat open ground. Hence a body of Badawin having, say, four
hundred tents will cover a wide area when camped. This is the pro-
cedure in winter or spring when no enemy is about and like to attack.
In summer, on the other hand, when the tribe is camped on water, it
literally surrounds the wells with tents, leaving only sufficient space for
the camels and sheep to drink. Tents on such occasions are close
together and generally in a series of lines, with tent ropes almost touch-
ing those of their neighbours. The widely scattered camp formation of 3,1
winter may make it difficult for the fighting men to concentrate sud- 721
denly, but is ideal for passive defence. A sudden surprise raid cannot
penetrate deeply into such a camp, as each tent becomes a small fort
from which fire is directed on the intruders, who soon find themselves
fired on from all sides. (The German pill-box system during the first
Great War proved the efficacy of the method.) Badawin methods of
fighting are discussed in Chapter XXVI.

NOTE.—

Asids—the man who goes ahead to look for best grazing ground.

Sallaf—the leader of the tribe or head of family on the march.
He always rides alone at head.

Makhir—is name given to the family baggage-camels as opposed
to *Al Abu'ir*, milch and loose camels on march.

Al Ghanani—the sheep on the march.

Al Baham—the lambs who march separate from the ewes.

Bedouin 3/24
Muntafiq

CHAPTER XLV

The Muntafiq Shepherd Tribes

This book would not be complete without a short reference to the ⁶¹⁹great southerly annual migration of the shepherd tribes of the ^[321]Muntafiq Confederation ²³³situate between Samawa and the Hamar Lake.

These shepherd tribes, which are known under the generic term of Shawtyah or Shawiwi in Iraq, and that of Hukra in Kuwait and Najd, consist of the sheep-rearing sections of the three great groups of the Muntafiq, namely the Albu Salah, the 'Ajwad and the Bani Malik, as well as the Bani Hachaim tribe which have their habitat south-east of Samawa, adjoining the Muntafiq.

The names of most of these Euphrates shepherd tribes are given ⁶¹⁹below, and each has a definite shaikh or leader, though some of them ^[621]come under the protection of one or other of the more powerful ^[621]riverain tribes of the lower Euphrates.

(1) Bani Malik Group:

Al Wada'ni. Al Majid.
Al Tugiyah. Al Diwin.
Al Munafida.

(all known under name Al
Jumal'an)

(3) 'Ajwad Group:

Al Ju'ari. Al Shari'at.
'Al Budur. Al Ghazal.

(4) Bani Hachaim Group:

Al Zaiyad. Al Ghazalat.
Bani Salamah.

(2) Albu Salah Group:

Al Shamla. Al 'Araithib.
Al Safafa's. Al 'Abada.

(5) Shammar (elements claiming descent from main Shammar of Najd):

† Ah 'Aunan. Al Rufa'at.
Al Zauha.

* Budur tribe sections who visit Kuwait are the Al Hamad and the Al Fauzan (Shaikh Mana). These are at enmity with the rest of the Budur (paramount Shaikh Shirehab al Sahun). Shammar shepherd tribes who in summer reside at Zubair or at Hartha (10 miles north of Basra) and annually visit Kuwait are Al Rufa'at and Al Zauha.

† Al 'Aunan are of Shammar extraction. They reside near Saq al Shuyukh.

Donkey Riders

Chap. XLV

619 Add to the above the Zubairiyah, a Zubair sheep tribe, and the
101 Zuhra and Rifa'at, who are of Shammar origin, both of whom in
243 good years join up with the Munafiq shepherds and move south-
wards with them, and you have a fairly complete list of the Euphrates
Shawiyah lying east of Samawa.

492 These tribes, though they move about on donkeys, which are more
964 suitable beasts of burden for men owning slowly moving flocks of
233 sheep, are in no way to be confused with the low-class Sakhiba frater-
nity, which are found all over Middle and North Arabia. The latter
are the outcasts of the Peninsula, while the shepherd tribes are for the
most part of good Arab stock, and some can give and take women
from the best tribes of Iraq.

715 The shepherd tribes are all Shi'ah by persuasion and so are not
439 much liked by the pure-blooded Badwin of the high desert. Never-
theless, they are tolerated and even welcomed by the latter each year,
since they bring with them cheap mutton, excellent *dahs* (clarified
butter), much wool for tents and red and white sheepskins, always
in demand for camel saddle-coverings.

221 With each annual rainy season the shepherd tribes move south
into the gravelly desert some 200 miles or more from the Euphrates.
They divide into two waves when they reach the Batin valley, one
wave moving down through Kuwait state into the Kuwait Neutral
Zone and beyond,* and the other going down as far south as the
Tawal al Dhafir and Tawal al Mutair, or scattering over the Al Hajara
region, which speaking roughly lies along both sides of the Iraq-
Sa'udi Arabia frontier line.

Speaking generally, but this is not an invariable rule, the Zuhra-
Bani Salama, Ghazri, Budur, Ghazalat and Zaiyad tribes keep to the
west of the Batin while the Sharaifat, Juarin, Bani Malik, Albu Salah
and 'Ammar pass through Kuwait and south along the coast of the
Persian Gulf.

721 The best of the shepherd tribes from a fighting point of view are
713 perhaps the Budur, the Juarin and the Ghazri, whose Shaikhs Shirshab
al Sahan, Nasir al Gubaih (son of the more famous Husain al Gubaih
of Great War days) and Manthad al Habaiyib I count among some
of my oldest friends of the southern desert. I had many a political

* In bad years the southern limit is Jahrah at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.

Brackets 1/24
M. J. L. 1/24

Good-looking Shepherd Girls

Chap. XLV

made with them in the old war days when I held charge of the Sq 721
at Shuyakh and Nauriyah areas. All are good fighters and of tough 72
bored, and all carry the very latest type of rifle or carbine with an
abundance of ammunition.

The shepherd tribes leave the Euphrates about the 15th October 221
of each year, and provided early rains (some) have fallen in the 225
southern desert, move slowly south grazing on the new green shoots
and drinking from rain pools or *thalees* which, owing to the rock
formation of the subsoil almost everywhere in North-East Arabia,
sometimes lie for weeks before drying up.

During February and March the shepherd tribes cover the whole 462
of the area lying to the south and west of Kuwait, and quite one of 434
the pleasant features of Kuwait life at this time of the year is to
meet the large number of pretty shepherd lasses who are to be seen
laughing happily and winding their way along the roads which
converge on to the town.

These girls are usually accompanied by droves of small donkeys 432
laden to the ground with curdled milk in skins, wool and firewood
which they bring into Kuwait to sell, or again in the evening taking
home their daily purchases of food, brightly coloured cloth, etc.

They are a very happy community and as a rule prefer to travel
without their men folk, who stay with the tents or tend the flocks.

These *thalees* lasses, as they are locally called, all go unveiled in 291
contrast to the Kuwait Badwin women. Being for the most part
pretty and good looking, they usually have a crowd of town youths
buzzing round the spot where they congregate to sell their wares.
Like most of their sisters nearer home, they can drive the shrewdest of
bargains, and give as good as they get in verbal exchanges.

The women with babies either carry them on their backs on the 854
march, or tuck them into a saddle-bag thrown across a donkey's
back. The wee faces peering out just above the edge of the roomy
bag are a most comical sight.

In general appearance these shepherd girls, like their men folk,
are strong and lusty, and rarely ride their donkeys. They walk twelve
to fifteen miles a day when visiting Kuwait, and on the same day in
the evening return some six or seven miles out of the town, sleep
on the side of the road when dark falls, and at dawn continue their

The Hukra Make Themselves Welcome

Chap. XLV

434 way back to their tents. No one ever molests them, and it would go
462 hard with a mere man who attempted to interfere with a bevy of
these tribal ladies on the march.

Hukra tents are not pitched close together, but in ones and twos,
261 each in sight of a neighbour. This enables one tent dweller to come
253 to the assistance of his neighbours all round him if necessary. The
result is that large areas of desert country are dotted as far as the eye
can see with little specks of two or three or even one black tent. The
above method of scattering widely is in vogue only if peace reigns
in the land. It is healthy, sheep are not crowded together, and grazing
is systematically gone over.

[12] Were there to be war, or even a rumour of war in the air, the
shepherd tribes would either concentrate closer together by day and
night, or make for home again.

• 221 The return to Iraq of the shepherd tribes takes place usually about
233 the end of April or early in May when water becomes scarce and
sheep have to get back to the Euphrates before the desert grazing
dries up.

439 Just as they have made wool, butter, milk, mutton, etc., cheap in
Kuwait, so with the money realised they take home rice, sugar, coffee,
clothes for their women and girls, and presents for those who stayed
behind. Their return home, therefore, though bad for Kuwait, is a
joyous one for their relatives on the Euphrates.

651 To ensure good treatment for themselves in Kuwait and Sa'udi
648 Arabia, the Hukra pay *shallak wa maddak*, consisting of gifts of
431 young lambs, to the local Governor or Ruler, and they also pay *qabdi*
voluntarily, if unrest is in the air and they want to receive serious
protection from possible raiders. The Sa'udi Government officials
are stern in the enforcement of *qabdi*, but the Shaikh of Kuwait,
whose state derives benefit from the Iraq shepherds, always waives
his right to it.

736 Kuwait is definitely the poorer for the annual departure of the
Hukra, and their return the following year is always looked forward
to by the majority of the people. Not the least to be missed are the
merry laughing faces of these daughters of the Muntafiq on the
Jahrah-Kuwait road, who joke with everybody and miss no oppor-
tunity of displaying pretty eyes and dainty tattoo-covered chins and

APPENDIX I

DIVISIONS OF MUTAIR, 'AJMAN, 'AWAZIM, RASHAIDA, (101) SHAMMAR AND 'ANIZAH TRIBES

TOGETHER WITH THEIR SHAHEMS, NUMBER OF TENTS, STRENGTH,
AND CHARACTERISTICS, ETC.

MUTAIR (Singular MUTAIRI)

The Tribe is divided into three main groups:

- (A) AL DUHMAN (Ruling or Shaikhly Clan).
- (B) AL 'ILWAN.
- (C) AL BURAIH.

Paramount Shaikh—AL DUWISH (from Shaikhly Clan of AL DUHMAN). (622)

Present incumbents (1937)—BANDAR BIN FAYSAL BIN SULTAN AL DUWISH. (102)

Fighting strength—May be taken at 6,000, though inner Najd figures are very doubtful.

Habits—In winter the Duhman Mutair Tribe and Aulad Wasil sections of the Buraih as opposed to Aulad 'Ali and Bani 'Abdilla (who are purely inner Najd sections) range from the Dahana sand belt in the south up to Kuwait in the north, and more or less keep to the eastern side of the Batin. (619, 221, 101)
They avoid the 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribal country in the coastal region of Ham province, and claim that the great well areas of Subaihiyah, Tawil and the environs of Kuwait fall within their grazing areas and have done so from time immemorial. In summer above-mentioned groups camp on the well-known wells at Arurwiyah, Qarya, Hafar al Batin, Safa, Qura's, Wabra, Jariya Ilya, Jariya Sifa.

Religion—Sunni MALIKI (late Tahwan). (795)

(A) The DUHMAN or Ruling Clan, has no subdivisions but only certain leading families. (619, 101)

(B) The 'ILWAN MUTAIR group, subdivided into the—

- (1) AL MUWANA and their subsections.
- (2) AL THAWIATIN and their subsections.
- (3) AL JIRLAN and their subsections.

(C) The BURAIH MUTAIR group is likewise subdivided into the—

- (4) 'AULAD WASIL and their subsections.
- (5) 'AULAD 'ALI and their subsections.
- (6) BANI 'ABDILLA and their subsections.

Appendix I

be brought under Kuwait. Were authority to collapse in Najd, the 'Ajman⁶⁴¹ would be the first to desert.

'AWAZIM (Singular 'AZMI)

Paramount Shaikh—Shaikh (Amir) IBN JAMA of the AL KU'AH camel division (senior) of the tribe—section AL HADALIN, which is the Shaikhly⁶¹⁹₁₀₁ [622] Clan.

Present incumbent—AMIR 'AID IBN JAMA.

Strength—Approximately 4,000 fighting men.*

Location—The tribal range is the north-east corner of Arabia (Kuwait⁶²² and Hasa), from Kuwait town as far south as Ras Bidiya. In winter Kuwait State is visited west and north-west of Jahrah as far as the Batin depression. In summer the various sections camp on water in the Kuwait Neutral Zone and in the Suda region to the south of it where water and grazing is plentiful. Ark and Ingair are favourite camps.

Religion—Sunni MALIKI.

The following comprise the sections of this powerful tribe, including their shaikhs and number of tents:

- AL BURAIKAT—Shaikh RAI AL FAHAMA (60 tents).
- AL HADALIN—Shaikh IBN JAMA (90 tents).
- AL SHAQFAH—Shaikh AL SAFAR (70 tents).
- AL ABABIYAT—Shaikh IBN IMLATHIYAH (60 tents).
- AL ALAITHAT—Shaikh IBN IHKAILAN (50 tents).
- AL ATHARIMAH—Shaikh IBN IMATRIM (40 tents).
- AL FAOU—Shaikh IBN GHIYATHI (40 tents).
- AL JAWASIRAH—Shaikh IBN KHAFAH (90 tents).
- AL MATAIBA—Shaikh IBN MANA (150 tents).
- AL MUHALIBA—Shaikh ASH SHITLI (90 tents).
- AL MUSAHIMAH—Shaikh IBN IHBAINA (120 tents).
- AL MUWAIJHAH—Shaikh IBN DHAB (70 tents).
- AL QURRASHAH—Shaikh IBN JANDAL (100 tents).
- AL SUWABIR—Shaikh IBN DRAI (160 tents).
- AL SUWAWIKH—Shaikh AL SAWAGH (40 tents).
- AL TUMA—Shaikh IBN IRMAIH (140 tents).

also

DHUWAIBAT
AGHRUBA
HASANIYAH
JA'AWIRAH

No recognised shaikh, settled in Kuwait
as fisherfolk, etc.

* Excluding those domiciled in Kuwait and environs.

Appendix I

GENERAL REMARKS

B
231 The 'Awazim are famous for the fine camels and sheep they breed. They are reported to possess some 100,000 camels and 250,000 sheep.

B
726 The tribe has a good name among Badawin for defensive warfare, but are not considered any good in attack. This is probably because they have no horses, and are confined to a very definite region on the coast. They put up a most magnificent and determined stand against the combined 'Ajman and Mutair attack at Ingair in 1929 ('Ikhwan Rebellion).

B
619 The tribe is not considered a Sharff tribe, and only the Hutaim of West Arabia and the Rashaidah will marry with them.

K
619 About two thousand 'Awazim are established in Kuwait town and environs and these are now looked upon as *Hadhar* or townsfolk. They still inter-marry with their nomad relations. They consider the Ruler of Kuwait as their true overlord, but through fear of Bin Sa'ud are forced to show allegiance to Sa'udi Arabia. They, like the Mutair, were weaned away after Mubarak died. They would undoubtedly throw over their personal allegiance to Bin Sa'ud if safe opportunity offered, as Kuwait is their natural supplying town.

B
619 Characteristics—staunch, uncouth, with rather rough humour, not very hospitable.

Till Bin Sa'ud got control of the 'Awazim they were looked upon as the servants of the more noble 'Ajman. To break the idea and to weaken the latter, Bin Sa'ud honoured the 'Awazim with the title of an independent tribe, and armed them all with modern weapons and distributed much ammunition amongst them. Over 1,500 .303 rifles bought from Great Britain in 1929 were issued to the 'Awazim during the 1929-30 'Ikhwan Rebellion when they remained loyal to the King.

The 'Awazim joined the 'Ikhwan movement out of policy when it was at its heyday, but never really had their heart in it.

B
623 The tribe has a distinct shepherd community "Ahl al Ghanam", whose senior Shaikh is IBN MANA, as opposed to a camel community "Ahl al Bayir" (IBN JAMI), the latter being considered of more consequence.

B
619 The tribe's hereditary enemies are the 'Ajman and Mutair (Buraih). The tribe is well armed, most of their weapons being .303 long. They also possess Turkish mausers, with a sprinkling of .303 Martini carbines.

RASHAIDA (Singular RASHIDI)

B
619 Paramount Shaikh—IBN MUSAILIM.

101 Present incumbents—'ASI IBN MUSAILIM (Senior) and MUTLUQ IBN MUSAILIM.

221 Strength—Approximately 1,200 fighting men.

[622] Habitat—In winter, the tribe ranges from Safwan in the north of Kuwait

Appendix I

State as far south as the Tawal-al-Mutair (or Junáb), i.e. Safa, Wabra, Jariya Ilya and Jariya Sifa in Sa'udi Arabian territory. 619
101
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In summer it camps on wells at Jahrah, Um Niga, Subaihiyeh, Tawil and sometimes at Wafra and 'Ark. A number of Rashaida is employed by the Ruler of Kuwait as "Fidawiyah" or paid mercenaries, and all the court falconers are found from the tribe.

Religion—Sunni MALIKI. [75]

The following are the names of sections, with their shaikhs and the number of tents each possess: 619
101

AL 'AJARIMA—Shaikh 'ABDULLA IBN RIMTHAN (30 tents).

AL 'AWANA—Shaikh SA'AD IBN DUGHAIM, 'ABDULLA IBN 'AWAIYID (80 tents).

AL DALUL—Shaikh FAHAD IBN HJAILAN (30 tents).

AL FAZARIN—Shaikh FALAH IBN HADBAH (30 tents).

AL GHURAIKAT—Shaikh SA'AD IBN MAZAH, AL WUSHAIMAN (60 tents).

AL HIRSHAN—Shaikh MASHA'AN IBN SHALLAL (90 tents).

KA'AMIYAH or CHA'AMIYAH—Shaikh SA'UD IBN QURAINIS (15 tents).

MATAWILAH—Shaikh HAMADAN IBN HUMAIYIR (30 tents).

MUHAIZIMAT—Shaikh SALIH IBN NIMRAN (80 tents).

MUWAIZIRAH—Shaikh SA'UD AL MUWAIZIRI (30 tents).

RAMATHIYIN—Shaikh KAMAN IBN SHUHAIZID (15 tents).

SHAHARA—Shaikh NASIR IBN 'ALI AL SHAHARI (15 tents).

SHUWAIKHAT—Shaikh NASIR IBN HUQTA (20 tents).

Also important sections 'ULAIYAT and 'UTHIBAT.

Corrected up to 21.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

This tribe officially belongs to Kuwait and is under nominal control of Ibn Subah. Tribally speaking, however, it is a serf tribe of the great Mutair, much in the same manner as the 'Awazim were of the 'Ajman in the olden days. With the final transference of the Mutair's allegiance from Kuwait to Najd after Shaikh Mubarak's death, the Rashaida were placed in the unfortunate position of being separated from their protectors and allies, and had to try and serve two masters. 619

Unlike the 'Awazim, they are very proud of their Mutair connection. They are fine fighters and can always count on Mutair protection if they move into Najd for grazing purposes. The tribe is a poor one and is engaged mostly in camel and sheep rearing. They possess about 9,000 camels and 10,000 sheep. [223]

Not being a Sharif tribe, they can only marry with Non-Sharif tribes such as the 'Awazim. Their women are remarkable for their good looks, 619

Approach of Hot Weather

Chap. XX

K 132	<i>Approximate Period.</i>	<i>Name of Wind.</i> The <i>Wasm</i> season sets in	<i>Remarks.</i>
	1st Oct. to 3rd Nov.		This is the rainy season. The period is very changeable and usually starts with a strong <i>kaus</i> (S.E. wind), which veers round to a west or N.W. wind. If rain falls in the desert, as it often does, the Badawin break camp at once, leave the wells on which they have summered, and go out into the deep desert. Truffles and mushrooms are sure to follow if <i>wasm</i> rains fall.
	3rd Nov. to 23rd Nov.	' <i>Uhaiwir</i>	A predominantly <i>kaus</i> wind. Sailing vessels rarely start on a long voyage in November as the ' <i>Uhaiwir</i> ' season is considered dangerous to mariners and shipping, and it is difficult to make progress down the Gulf.
	23rd Nov. to 1st Jan.	<i>Marba'aniyah</i>	Starts with a very strong <i>shamal</i> and goes round to the west in the early morning and finishes to the east in the afternoon.

Names given to the daily winds of Kuwait according to the point of the compass they blow from.

Yahi—North wind.
Shamal—N.W. wind.
Shami—N.W. by West wind.
Gharbi—West wind.
Jibli—S.W. wind.
Suhaili—South wind.
Kaus—S.E. wind.
Sharqi or *Mutla'i*—East wind.
Nashi—N.E. by East wind.

SUMMER

K
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B
221

The terrible summer, or hot weather, season dreaded by man and beast both in Kuwait and in the desert, may be said to start roughly on 1st May and to end on 30th September. The Badawin does not immediately camp on water on the 1st of May, but on that date he gradually starts moving towards his previously-selected summer camping grounds, usually the wells on which he is going to pitch his tent during the hot months. If the spring has been a good one with

Camping Grounds

Chap. XX

plenty of grazing, he postpones this final move as late as possible, but if the reverse, then the 20th May may see him settled down for his enforced five months of idleness and physical discomfort.

As far as North-Eastern Arabia is concerned the following are the great Badawin camping grounds from north to south:

- (a) *Safwan*—immediately north of Kuwait Border, in Iraq territory.
- (b) *Jahrah*—at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.
- (c) *Kuwait*—(Shamiyah and Dasma wells) outside the walls of Kuwait.
- (d) *Subaihiyah*—on the southern border of Kuwait.
- (e) *Tawil*—S.W. of Jabal Wara and 10 miles N.W. of Subaihiyah in Kuwait.
- (f) *Wafra*—in the Kuwait Neutral Zone.
- (g) *'Ark*—on the southern border of Neutral Zone.
- (h) *Jeriyah Ilya*
Jeriyah Sifli
Safa
Haba
Qara'a
- (i) *Hafar al Batin*—in the Batin Valley (Sa'udi Arabia) 150 miles S.W. of Kuwait.
- (j) *'Ajibba*—in the Harb tribal country, S.W. of the Mutair Summan (Sa'udi Arabia).
- (k) *Ingair*
'Nta
Awaina
Sarrar
- (l) *Qatif, Hufuf*—in South Hasa (Sa'udi Arabia).

There is also the well-known camping quadrilateral in the Iraq Neutral Zone lying 140 miles west of Kuwait, known under the general term of *Tawal al Dhafir*, and consisting of several well-areas such as Dulaimiyah, Arkhaimiyah, Julaida, Al Thamiriyah, etc.

By tribal law each of the above wells belongs to a different tribe or section of tribe, and strangers can theoretically be kept away from them. Actually under the strong rule of the Al Sa'ud and the Al Subah, other tribes or parts of tribes are to-day allowed to make use of them, provided there is no overcrowding and there is no enmity between the actual owners of the water and the strangers. It goes without saying that should a tribe of a foreign State camp for summer

Mirage and Sandstorm

Chap. XX

B
312 on such wells, then it will have to pay *zakāt* for that year to the Central Government in whose state it is a guest.

K
132 The first signs of the coming summer are the drying up of all
B
132 desert grasses (*ashib*), the mirage—which now flickers everywhere and seems to fill every small depression in the countryside with a little lake of water—and the sandstorms. The glare also becomes intense and makes the desert-dweller fold his *kaffiyah* or head-cloth across his face. The winds are hot as though driven out of a great furnace by some gigantic bellows. The traveller now finds himself mistaking bushes and animals for distant tents and men, especially at midday and as night draws near.

Men and animals now want to drink more often, so of necessity tents are brought closer to water.

The women in their *biyūt sha'ar* (hair tents) also feel the effects of the sun and erect false roofs of saffron or other coloured rugs above their heads inside their tents, to keep out the stinging rays.

Both men and women grow palpably thinner, while all develop a much deeper tan than during the winter.

The most unpleasant feature of this half-season period is the sandstorm. These storms grow more and more frequent and vicious until by June the countryside seems to have taken on a permanent canopy of sand-haze which lodges in nostrils, eyes and throat. Alternating with these sandstorms come gentle south-east winds, or dead calms which bring up heavy dews in their train. These too are most trying.

B
221 By the 5th June the desert world, which has slowly been converging
312 on the well-areas, now definitely goes to ground and camps on water. If these well-areas are popular, several thousand tents will congregate close together and as near to the well-heads as possible—the tents of the shaikhs and prominent men standing out of the general mass by reason of their size and the number of their poles.

At Jahrah in 1935, for instance, when Kuwait tribes as well as Dhafir, Shammar (Abda), Dahamsha ('Anizah) and 'Ajman details were camped there, the sight was a remarkable one, for well over three thousand black hair-tents were congregated in an area only 1 mile square.

K
132 About 10th June, if the year is a normal one, North-East Arabia and especially the Persian Gulf seaboard is visited by what is known as

Heaven on Earth

Chap. XX

SPRING

Spring (*rah*?) comes at last about 15th February, and if rains have been good, a truly marvellous spring it is. Wild flowers come up in profusion everywhere, and the countryside becomes a multi-coloured carpet. The Badawin is now in as near heaven as he can ever hope to be in this world. His camels and sheep graze in plenty, milk and *leben* are abundant, the sun's warm rays give new life to him, he grows fat and the whole world is rosy. It is then that the well-to-do from Kuwait, some one hundred families, imitate their nomad brethren and make for the high desert to enjoy four months of that Badawin existence which they have so recently abandoned. Back to the happy desert life and black hair-tents once more! Men, women and children, from the shaikh downwards, take part in this spring migration from the city, and what health and strength it brings them! Poorer town-Arabs as yet only half urbanised do their utmost to get out too, and if they cannot afford tents they plant themselves on kinsmen among the great Mutair, 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribes. By the end of spring everybody in the desert has got a new lease of life. They look definitely healthy, with rounded cheeks and well-covered body, a change indeed from their appearance at the end of summer.

K
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Camels develop an enlarged hump, sheep an enormously fat tail and man lots of extra flesh, all a reserve of strength against the dreaded summer.

The Badawin will tell you that he prefers the summer, because he has no warm clothes or good food to keep him comfortable in the winter months. Yet were it not for the cold winter, his race would assuredly die out. It is the winter that keeps the inhabitant of Arabia the virile, tough and wiry person that he is. Had he a temperate instead of a torrid summer, his race would certainly be one of the finest in the world: and dangerous in proportion.

The Muntafiq League

Muntafiq

Chap. LV

174 water), and so forth, until he had completed the tale of the road.
 619 Armed with the information he had gained, he led the Bani Malik to Safwan, where they overthrew and almost exterminated the 'Ajwad, sparing only a handful of men and forty women, or according to another version of the story forty women with child. The remnant, whatever may have been its composition, took refuge in the Hawizah marshes, but returned after a short period to 'Iraq, where they were joined by the Budur, who claim descent from the Ruwalah 'Anizah, the Shuraifat, a tribe of Southern Arabian origin (Qahtan), and the Juwarin, long settled in Mesopotamia. Shabib, by virtue of his relationship with the Al Khusaubah and his military powers, had assumed the leadership of the Bani Malik, and to him the 'Ajwad addressed themselves with proposals of peace. He demanded for the killing of his father no payment of blood money, but that he should be accorded the honours of overlord, that they should kiss his hand when they approached him, and that he should not be required to rise in response to their salutation. To this stipulation, which was regarded as an instance of high generosity, they agreed, and the Bani Malik and 'Ajwad, united under one chief, made so formidable a combination that they attracted a third ally, the Bani Sa'id, a tribe of the Jazirah. These three formed and still form the Muntafiq league.

619 The three divisions as we know them are not tribes, but tribal
 101 groups. The Bani Sa'id, who are by far the smallest, appear to be the
 221 most cohesive. Their district lies in little-known country in the
 241 desert between the Tigris and the Gharraf. Though they own some
 184 cultivation of the tail of the great canals they would seem to approach the Badawin more closely in their mode of life than is the case with the other two members of the league, and their constituents have the character of sections of a homogeneous tribe rather than that of independent units gathered into a confederacy.

619 The 'Ajwad are the least compact. Their country is on the Gharraf,
 101 and the Euphrates above and below Nasiriyah; they are therefore
 293 much more accessible. They are riverain Arabs of the Shawfiyah type (Shawáwi), half-settled cultivators and half-nomadic owners of
 [342] flocks. They spend the late winter, spring and early summer in the
 [241] desert with their sheep, leaving some of their number in the reed
 villages by the rivers to till the fields.

Appendix I

619 *Present incumbents* (1937)—KHALID AL HITHLAIN (Bin Sa'ud's nominee,
 101 nicknamed ZIB SAHMAN). RAKAN AL HITHLAIN (tribal nominee).

[622] *Fighting strength*—May be taken at approximately 5,800.

[221] *Habitat*—In winter the tribe ranges whole Province of Hasa from the
 Kuwait border as far south as Hufuf. In summer they camp along the whole
 length of the Wadi al Miyah in Hasa where water is plentiful, their head-
 quarter camps being 'Nta, Ghanwa, Mulaija, Sarrar and Awaina in Mid Hasa.
 The Southern 'Ajman largely camp in summer round Hufuf town. The Al
 Hajraf section and some of the Al Hadi, who have for many years been
 vassals of the Shaikhs of Kuwait, roam Kuwait and camp at Jahrah in summer.

The tribe is closely related to the powerful Al Murra in the south, and so
 are in close alliance. Also they marry with the Bani Yam of Najran, who
 claim the same ancestry. They profess the Sunni Hanbali creed of Islam,
 and were lately all 'Tkhwan.

The various sections of the tribe with their shaikhs and number of
 tents are as follows:

AL ARJAH—under Shaikh IBN RUMAH (210 tents).

Subsections:

ARJAH.

RISQ.

MARJAH.

ADH DHĀ'IN—Shaikh IBN JUMA'A (Mana), AD DAMIR ('Abdulla) (150 tents).

Subsections:

'AMIR.

HARDHAN.

DHĀ'IN.

AL HĀDI—Shaikh AL MUTALAQQIN ('Ubaid) (130 tents).

Subsections:

AL HĀDI.

AL WAIL.

AL HAJJĀN (pronounced HAYYAN)—Shaikh MUHAMMAD AS SUBAH (50 tents).

AL HITLĀN—Shaikh IBN SA'ADA and IBN ZIMAMAN (160 tents).

Subsections:

DHAMISHAH.

RASSAN.

JAHL.

KHURAJTH.

MATAQ.

AL HABAISH—Shaikh IBN 'ILWAF (100 tents).

AL KHUWAITIR—Shaikh AD DAMMAM IBN 'ADHAN (50 tents).

THE LAND OF THE FREE

43

and wealthy shaikhs, who had nothing to seek from me. Many 485 years later, I was able to acknowledge their kindness and do a very 609 little to help them.

Next morning we left the tent of Khalid and Trad, and set out 221 across the desert for the west. Before noon we came across a tribe 301 on the move, the vast flocks of camels walking and grazing slowly, the caravan of loaded camels, the shaikhs' women in gaily decorated litters ornamented with red tassels and rows of white shells, the men and boys walking or riding, and the flocks of sheep. Half a mile ahead rode the chief with the advanced guard —three camelmen and two horsemen, one with a hawk on his wrist and a greyhound trotting beside his mare. Our guide, Qasim ash Shemam, must needs trot over to them to gossip. I rode 609 parallel to the group twenty or thirty yards away. Suddenly they all looked my way, and a stentorian voice called out, "God damn the English and Ibn Shaalan who shelters them!" The infidel and the stranger were not always welcome, it seemed. It was Fayyadh ibn Jendal, a tribesman of the old school. Ten years later I was to be a close friend of his son and nephew. But the fortune of the day brought us in the evening to Melih al Ga'ga, of a family who had been themselves chiefs of the Ruwallah before the rise of the Shaalan. Here we once more met with the same cordial welcome as from Khalid and Trad. An argument arose between our host and his young son in front of the tent. We could hear an exchange of angry words between them. Qasim later informed us that the boy demanded that his father slaughter a camel for our dinner, whereas the old man said that a whole sheep would suffice. Such are the extravagancies of Arab hospitality, amongst people who themselves live perilously near to the starvation level.

The ensuing days were less eventful. A bitter north-west wind 000 howled in our faces. Sand and dust filled the air so thickly that we could see only a few hundred yards. At night we failed to find any tribal camps, and shivered cheerless in the open, beneath the gusts of stinging sand. It was not safe to light a fire for fear of raiding parties.

The camel is capable of covering great distances in twenty-four 492 hours, but the idea that the "swift dromedary" skims across the

178 they must leave their rifles at a police post, but once they have climbed
619 back on to the escarpment they are free to do as they like, subject only to
the restraints of tribal life. Similarly, while they are inside the towns of
Inner Oman, where the Imam has established law and order, they must
behave themselves, but once they are outside the walls they can only be
controlled by diplomacy and not by force, while everywhere in the
Dhahirah of Northern Oman jealous and often hostile sheikhs vie with
each other in the lavishness of their hospitality and the scale of their gifts
to win the support of the Badu. There no sheikh can enforce his authority
over the tribes, and none of them would try, lest by doing so he should
alienate their support in time of need.

133 To understand the Badu character and way of life you must under-
312 stand the land in which they live—a harsh, unforgiving land which con-
ditions their lives so that they, too, are hard, hard in body and mind.
They live in the desert—that is to say, in country which, judged by
ordinary standards, is waterless. This applies equally to the barren, broken
limestone mountains near the southern coast, to the flat, featureless gravel
plains, and to the sands of the Empty Quarter itself, where the moun-
tainous dunes, some of which are 700 feet high, run one behind the other
for hundreds of miles. There are, of course, some wells in this desert,
but they are usually few and far between; the Sa'ar country has two
permanent wells in it, Manwakh and Zamakh; the Manahil country has
three or four. Thus in an area the size of Norfolk there might be two
wells. I have myself twice travelled four hundred miles between wells. I
admit that this is exceptional, but Badu have raided across these very
stretches of desert, riding out and back again without touching at a well.
You can think what this means when you realize that this distance is twice
as far as from Dover to Edinburgh, and that these Arabs travelled at a
speed of three miles per hour, relying only on the water which they could
carry with them without foundering their camels, and that the camels
themselves did not get a drink until they returned a month later.

137 It seldom rains in this desert; in many parts it has not rained for five
221 years, and I have been in places where not a drop of rain has fallen for
132 twenty-five years. By Badu standards a couple of hours' heavy rain in the
233 year means a good year. They cannot, therefore, cultivate, but have to
depend for their livelihood on their small herds of camels, and in quest of
the pasturage which springs up after rain they travel great distances.
Most of this vegetation is not grass, but desert plants like the succulent
yellow-flowering tribulus and heliotrope, and in the sands these plants
will remain green after a few days' rain for as long as three and four
years. But they do not last so long on the gravel plains and among the
hills; in such places, however, grow scattered trees and bushes, such as the
acacias, which afford valuable pasturage. Where there is rich grazing the
233 Badu can remain for six and even nine months without water, for their
262 camels get all the moisture they require from these green plants, and
camels' milk suffices the Arabs themselves for food and drink. In the
heat of summer the camels must be watered once a week, and if there is
no well near the grazing on which they have wintered they must move
back on to a permanent well and graze their herds as best they can on the

world. In the past, Arab rulers were always accessible to their subjects, and the most destitute Badui was accustomed to enter the audience chamber of an all-powerful king and address him by name, scorning the use of titles. Now these rulers may be tempted to seclude themselves in offices and to interpose a convenient façade of secretaries between themselves and the importunities of the needy and the oppressed. It is significant of the changes which are taking place that customary banquets are already being replaced by meals at which delicacies brought specially from America by air are served in European fashion.

Freedom is the birthright of the nomad. If he should be dispossessed, disillusioned, and yet remain as poverty-stricken as he was before, he might readily be induced to believe that Communism offered him a society similar to that which he had lost.

Brigadier S. H. LONGRIGG: Are the Badu of Southern Arabia—similar to those of Northern Arabia—nomadic within limits? Has each tribal group its well-understood limits of migration in terms of movement and duration, or can they go anywhere?

Mr. P. W. THESIGER: That depends to a large extent on the various tribes. The northern tribes are usually very limited in migration: they graze their camels on the salt bushes, which do not die during drought, but they have then to water the camels two or three times a day, and therefore do not move any great distance. The more nomadic tribes, however, will range over one hundred miles questing for the type of desert pasture which springs up here and there after rain. The extent of their migrations often depends on whether there is peace or war between them and their neighbours. If peace prevails they can go into their next-door neighbour's territory; if they are at war they are limited in their movements. Sometimes there is good grazing in the middle of the desert, but no tribe can go there because there happens to be a war between two of the tribes.

One of the tribes I saw on my last journey, the Wahba (one of the biggest of the desert tribes), are very restricted and remain always within their own particular area. Certain of the tribes may range further than others. The widest ranging tribes are probably those living on the sands, whereas those who live on the steppes and round the mountains are much more restricted in their migrations.

The CHAIRMAN said: On your behalf I wish to thank Mr. Thesiger for what he has told us. Since he has said that he can stay with us for three months and with the Badu for nine, there is little more than I can add. (Laughter.) I feel sure, however, that Mr. Thesiger is absolutely right in that. I can only hope, Mr. Thesiger, that when you go back to Southern Arabia you will enjoy your sojourn there as much as you did on your recent visit, and that when you return to England you will stay a little more than three months with us.

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the Sba (3,000 tents), who winter to the east of the Jebel Aniza and advance as far as the Gazra region itself; and the Ruwala (4,000 tents).²⁸

THE 'ANAZAH TRIBES

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221 wards to the Euphrates and even beyond that river.⁶⁰ At the beginning of winter they move southwards towards the Sammâr hills where they still find fresh pasture for their camels. And from December onward no 'Anazah are found in the whole district north of the chain of hills which begins to the northeast of Damascus and reaches as far as the Euphrates. Toward March, when the she-camels have dropped their young, the 'Anazah begin to return north, so as to reach their summer quarters again by the middle of April. They do not take their sheep with them to the south, but leave them in the care of the subject tribes.

The Euphrates is, on the whole, the boundary between the 'Anazah and the Sammâr of Mesopotamia.⁶¹ The former, however, frequently cross the river by numerous fords in order to make raids in Mesopotamia, so that there is a permanent state of war between them and the Sammâr who are barely half their number. The 'Anazah are always readily assisted by the Yazidi's.⁶² The raids from one side of the river to the other usually begin with the arrival of summer. 'Anazah are found even in the district of Nisibis and Mosul.⁶³ And east of the Habur⁶⁴ there is a fairly considerable sept of the tribe, a sub-tribe of the Haddal,⁶⁵ who migrated to that district in consequence of dissensions with their fellow-tribesmen and joined the Sammâr.

CONCLUSION

101 It is of great importance to us to learn the part played by the 'Anazah tribes in the Near and Middle East in generations past, as well as the chances of a brighter future of these "Sons of the Desert," who are still completely nomadic for the greater part. The first requisite for our understanding of the situation is to recognize that the Bedouin must be a nomad who breeds and keeps camels.

60 *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 10, 20, 28, 29-30, 32; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 50-82; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, pp. 13-14; *Report, Iraq for the Year 1929*, pp. 35-36; Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines, etc.*, pp. 494-496; *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council, etc.*, pp. 26-27; Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys; A Handbook of Arabia* (Naval Intelligence Division, Great Britain, London, 1920).

61 Consult on the Sammâr and related tribes: *Handbook: Northern Shammar*, p. 78; Musil, *Northern Negd*, pp. 31-33; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 15; Jazmali, *The New Iraq, etc.*, pp. 55, 65, 74, 122, 127, 141.

62 *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council, etc.*, pp. 27-29; Th. Mennal, *Yazidi* (in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*); Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yazidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjar* (Beirut, 1938).

63 Mésul: conv. for Arabic M - Al Mūsīl.

64 Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 74-76. Cf. Khābūr, Nahr el: river 40 km east of Deyr az-Zōr; Arabic N.

65 *Les tribus arabes de Syrie* (Beirut, May 1922), pp. 19-20, 21-25.

TRIBAL AREAS AND MIGRATION LINES OF THE NORTH ARABIAN BEDOUINS

Carl R. Raswan

[With separate map, Pl. V, facing p. 502]

114 SINCE 1911 the writer has spent a total of about seven years
among the Bedouins. The main purpose of his repeated visits
to northern Arabia has been the breeding of Arab horses and
study of their history. Incidentally he has been impelled to determine
as accurately as possible the *dīra* or pasture districts of the various
Bedouin tribes.

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102 The accompanying maps are based largely upon personal observa-
tions and inquiries among the 'Aneze, Shammar, Shararat, Huetat,
Beni Sakhr, and other tribes, supplemented by data gleaned from
Doughty's "Travels in Arabia Deserta" and more especially from
Alois Musil's works. While the maps are in no sense final or complete,
the writer is confident that their delineation of the tribal areas is
more accurate than that shown on any previous maps.

DEFINITE BOUNDARIES

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221 The migrations of the Bedouins are not arbitrary, aimless wander-
ings in the wilderness. Well defined landmarks limit them. Tribes
related by blood ties may frequently use the same districts together
at certain seasons of the year. One tribe may conclude a treaty with
strangers, permitting the latter to use its pastures and watering places
for a specified period. Or else a powerful tribe, like the Ruala, may
invade an enemy's territory without warning. In this case constant
bickering, raiding, and skirmishing is the inevitable result.

A great northward shift of the Shammar and 'Aneze nomads
took place during the first part of the seventeenth century, and the
existing apportionment of the tribal areas was at that time roughly
established. The boundaries which the various tribes now claim as
their own and which are marked by water holes, variations in the
desert surface (as between lava rock, gravel, red sand, etc.), dry
watercourses, solitary hills, mountain ranges, cultivated tracts, and
the like, have been definitely fixed since the beginning of the last
century. Some of the more important of these landmarks are shown
on Plate V, facing p. 502.

As a typical example of a tribal area let us examine the *dīra* of
the 'Amarat tribe of the 'Aneze "nation" (Fig. 1). The eastern limit

of their wanderings approaches close to Baghdad, Kerbela, and An-Nejef. To the south, in seasons of sufficient rain, they pasture their herds on the tract of Al-Hejera; but when rain is scanty they move westward and thence northward around the southern and western edges of Al-Wudiyan. Thence, crossing Wadi al-Ghadaf, Wadi al-Hazimi, and Wadi Hauran (near Ar-Rutba, now a military outpost of 'Iraq) they reach their northern limits at the base of the mountains Abu Rijmen and Jebel Bishri between As-Sukhne and Deyr az-Zor. Within this *dira* lie the boundaries of the pasture districts of other tribes. In the north the Fed'an range as far south as 'Aqlat Shuab (where their great chief Turki ibn Mheyd lies buried), and the Sba'a go south to Wadi al-Ghadaf. The Fed'an and Sba'a are brother tribes, of the same blood as the 'Amarat, and all three unite when one is attacked by outsiders. The territory of the Ruala, also related by blood to the 'Amarat, overlaps that of the latter in Al-Wudiyan and Al-Hejera; and on the south Al-Hejera is also occupied by the Shammar (Fig. 2). In addition, the 'Amarat share part of their *dira* with 'Aqeydat, Dleyim, and Khaza'el (Fig. 3), tribes of the second rank, despised by the strong Bedouins of noble blood, with whom, however, they are occasionally allowed to migrate.

RELATION TO NATURAL FEATURES

Since very early times three great natural features have borne a close relation to the territorial subdivision of the major nomadic nations of northern and central Arabia. The first is a well defined depression that cuts across the entire peninsula from the Red Sea at Al-Wejh to Basra and is marked by the irregular lines of Wadi Humdh to the west and of Wadi Ruma' and its continuation, Al-Baten, to the east. The watershed between these two systems of wadies lies east of Khaybar in Jebel Abyadh. The ancient Bedouin tribes occupying areas north of this depression are now represented also in Syria and Mesopotamia, but those with pastures south of the depression appear to have remained in central Arabia.

The second great natural feature is the Nafud sand desert and its principal outliers, Al-Labbe and Ad-Dhana. The sands of the last reach south across Wadi Ruma' and, extending between Hufhuf and Riyadh, finally connect with the boundless southern sands of the "Empty Quarter." These *nafuds* have always constituted natural limits for the migrating nomads and their herds. During winter and spring they are healthful country: out of the sands, moistened by the rains, springs up a fragrant pasture growth, and the bushes sprout forth life-giving leaves and flowers; but at other seasons all is a desolate waste. On rare occasions the nomad nations whose normal ranges lie far north in Syria return to this cradle of their race. The northern

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Until about 1930, the Sulubba paid regular tribute to all the Beduin sheikhs for protection. This did not, however, safeguard them from continual petty pilfering, beatings and insults. Beduin travelers or raiders invariably called at Sulubba tents if they could find them, and demanded food and hospitality. The Beduin, who is normally a model of sedateness and reserved decorum among strangers, exhibited the worst aspects of his character in a Sulubba camp. He shouted, bullied, cursed, and swaggered in a manner sometimes shameful. He demanded the best food, cursed his host, complained of everything, ate all he could and then demanded more food to take with him as supplies for his journey. The Sulubba cowered and whined. Long oppression has indeed made them very low class. The ingratiating whine in which they address the Beduin as "Ya Amaimi," "Oh my little uncle," makes one ashamed of human nature!

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Prostitution is reputed to be widespread among the women. Whether or not this statement is too sweeping, there can be little doubt that most of them have a very low standard of morals, and are frequently sought by Beduins for immoral purposes. This traffic can scarcely be unknown to their husbands and brothers, but they seem too debased to protest. While there is a good deal of immorality among the Beduins themselves, such offences are kept strictly secret, and any woman creating a scandal is likely to be murdered. Only the Sulubba seem to be shameless in this respect.

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The Sulubba are par excellence the children of the desert. Every Sulubbi is nicknamed by the Beduins "Abu al Khala" or "Father of the empty spaces." If the Beduin, compared to the townsmen, is a hardy traveler at home in the great desert, he is but a pampered tenderfoot compared to the Sulubba. Often in summer, when the great Beduin

● 221 camps move to the Euphrates, or on to the main groups of wells around which cluster tented towns of hundreds of families, odd Sulubba families will remain far out in the desert, [312] drinking from some tiny water hole in a lonely ravine known only to the Sulubba themselves. There they will live almost the lives of wild animals, with only a few sheep or donkeys, hunting gazelle and often dressing in their skins.

224 The Sulubba alone knows the wild animal life of the desert intimately. As a gazelle hunter, [262] his skill is incredible, and many live very large-ly on gazelle meat and dress in their skins. The Beduins often employ the Sulubba as guides in the desert or consult them regarding routes, grazing, or camping grounds.

433 Apart from hunting gazelle, and menial work 231 for the Beduins, the Sulubba also live by grazing and breeding animals. Some of them are prosperous and own large flocks of sheep. They have a few camels, but their most distinctive possessions are the white asses. Probably the Sulubba originally bred asses rather than camels for riding purposes, because if they had any good camels the Beduins were likely to covet them. But since no Beduin would stoop to ride an ass, the Sulubba were left in undisputed possession. Some of these animals have marvellously swift paces, and are almost as capable of resisting thirst as is the camel.

721 During the last ten years, the desert belong- 178 ing to Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan has been brought under Government control. As a result the Beduins are no longer able to bully the Sulubba quite as unrestrainedly as before and the latter are learning to complain to the police when they are beaten or abused.

563 In 1919-22, the recrudescence of Wahhabism 797 in central Arabia produced a tremendous outburst 721

000ordinary Beduin. While the Beduin is very
156 jealous of his dignity in public, the Sherari
is often prepared to make himself ridiculous
for the amusement of his betters or in hopes
of a reward. He is sometimes quite amusing,
and is famous for his rather vulgar and un-
dignified but irrepressible and often pointed
witticisms (rather like the London cockney).

221 Like the Sulubba, the Sherarat, who are more
463 intimate with the desert than the real Beduins,
511 are excellent guides. They too prefer to spend
the summer far away in the desert, beside some
distant water-hole known only to themselves.
It is not uncommon to meet a Sherari and his
wife with a flock of camels deep in the desert,
with no tent and no gear, living on the milk of
the camels and sleeping in the open. The Beduins
require more luxury, and after living thus for
a short time, begin to want food, coffee, and
a tent.

563 While the Sherarat thus bear a good deal of
721 resemblance to the Sulubba socially, unlike the
latter they carry arms and defend themselves
[651] from attack. Until recently, however, they paid
tribute to the Beduins in whose areas they en-
camped. Sherarat, living as servants with
Beduins, will accompany their masters on raid-
ing parties, something to which the Sulubba were
prohibited.

During the past decade in the Jauf area,
Ibn Saud has aimed at raising the status of the
Sherarat, doubtless with a view to increasing
his fighting men.

231 The Sherarat, who own great numbers of camels,
511 used to be famous for the quality of their
swift riding camels. Although some individuals
are comparatively wealthy, they spend very little,
live only in tiny tents, wear ragged clothes, and
beg, cadge, or hire themselves out as laborers
or carriers.